

## Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY WARSAW IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY SAIGON IMMEDIATE

WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY JAKARTA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE

USDEL FRANCE IMMEDIATE

USDEL SAN CLEMENTE IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 059898

EXDIS - TOSEC 12 - ZFF SAN CLEMENTE ONLY

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MARR, VS, PL, HU

SUBJECT: ICCS: POLISH AND HUNGARIAN OBSTRUCTIONISM

WHITE HOUSE PASS SECRETARY ROGERS IN SAN CLEMENTE

REF: SAIGON 5190

1. SUMMARY. DEPUTY SECRETARY RUSH CALLED IN POLISH CHARGE( FRACKIEWICZ) AND HUNGARIAN AMBASSADOR ( SZABO) AFTER-NOON MARCH 30 TO DELIVER STIFF PROTEST ON POLISH AND HUNGARIAN PARTIALITY FRUSTRATING ICCS ROLE IN OBSERVING COMPLIANCE WITH TERMS OF VIETNAM PEACE AGREEMENT. DEPUTY SECRETARY ASKED POLISH AND HUNGARIAN REPRESENTATIVES URGENTLY TO INFORM THEIR GOVERNMENTS THAT THE USG TAKES A MOST SERIOUS VIEW OF WHAT IS OCCURRING IN VIETNAM AND  
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SAID CONDUCT OF THEIR GOVERNMENTS IN MATTER OF VITAL INTEREST TO THE US CAN NOT BUT HAVE GRAVE IMPACT ON WHOLE RANGE OF BILATERAL RELATIONS. TEXT OF TALKING POINTS PAPER HANDED TO FRACKIEWICZ FOLLOWS BELOW. END SUMMARY.

2. A REVIEW OF THE SITUATION IN VIETNAM AS THE FIRST 60 DAYS OF THE CEASEFIRE CAME TO A CLOSE REVEALED A VERY SERIOUS AND OMINOUS SITUATION.

3. ALTHOUGH THE LEVEL OF FIGHTING HAS DECLINED, THE FORCES OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM AND OF THE VIETCONG, OR PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT, ARE BLATANTLY VIOLATING THE CEASEFIRE FROM ONE END OF THE COUNTRY TO THE OTHER. THESE VIOLATIONS TAKE THE FORM OF ARTILLERY AND ROCKET BARRAGES, ATTACKS BY GROUND FORCES, INDISCRIMINATE TERRORISM, AND, AS POINTED OUT TO YOU EARLIER BY ASSISTANT SECRETARY GREEN, CONTINUED ILLEGAL INFILTRATION OF MEN AND SUPPLIES FROM NORTH VIETNAM.

4. FOR ITS PART, THE ICCS AFTER TWO MONTHS IS STILL FAILING COMPLETELY TO DISCHARGE THE RESPONSIBILITIES ENTRUSTED TO IT IN THE PEACE AGREEMENT, AND I MUST FRANKLY ADD THAT THE BLAME FOR THIS STATE OF PARALYSIS FALLS SQUARELY ON THE DELEGATIONS OF HUNGARY AND POLAND.

5. THOSE TWO DELEGATIONS HAVE DEVOTED THEMSELVES SOLELY TO THE PROTECTION OF THE INTERESTS OF THE DRV AND PRG IN COMPLETE DISREGARD OF FACT, TRUTH AND THE INTERESTS OF PEACE. THERE HAS BEEN HARDLY ANY PRETENSE AT IMPARTIALITY. WHEN COMPLAINTS ARE PRESENTED AGAINST THE DRV/ PRG DEPREDATIONS, THE HUNGARIAN AND POLISH DELEGATIONS EMPLOY GREAT INGENUITY TO AVOID ACTION, CLAIMING LACK OF SECURITY, LACK OF AUTHORITY, OR SIMPLY REFUSING TO MOVE. WHERE, AS AN EXCEPTION, AN INSPECTION IS MADE THESE TWO DELEGATIONS USE EVERY POSSIBLE DEVICE TO AVOID ALLOWING ANY CRITICISM OF DRV/ PRG ACTIONS.

6. WE ARE PUZZLED AT THIS, PARTLY BECAUSE WE THOUGHT THE EXPERIENCE YOU BROUGHT WITH YOU FROM THE OLD ICC WOULD SERVE YOU WELL, BUT MORE IMPORTANTLY BECAUSE OF THE REPEATED ASSURANCES WE HAVE HAD FROM A NUMBER OF HIGH-RANKING POLISH AUTHORITIES THAT THE POLISH DELEGATION TO

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THE ICCS WOULD DO ITS UTMOST TO BRING PEACE TO VIETNAM.

7. THESE INCLUDE: FIRST SECRETARY GIEREK' S MARCH 9 STATEMENT THAT THE GOP " WOULD DO EVERYTHING WITHIN ITS COMPETENCE" TO ENSURE THAT THE CONTENTS OF THE PEACE AGREEMENT WERE IMPLEMENTED; MINISTER SLIWINSKI' S MARCH 15 COMMENT THAT YOUR GOVERNMENT WANTED US TO KNOW YOU TOOK YOUR VIETNAM DUTIES SERIOUSLY.; SIMILAR STATEMENTS ON MARCH 20 BY YOU TO MR. STOESSEL AND ON MARCH 22 BY FOREIGN MINISTER OLSZOWSKI.

8. IN ACTUALITY, HOWEVER, THE POLISH AND HUNGARIAN DELEGATES HAVE MISSED ALMOST NO OPPORTUNITY TO IMPEDE THE WORK OF THE COMMISSION. THERE ARE NUMEROUS EXAMPLES OF THE UNCOOPERATIVE ATTITUDE OF THE TWO DELEGATIONS AND EVIDENCE IS STRONG THAT THEIR CURRENT INSTRUCTIONS DO NOT INCLUDE THE POSSIBILITY OF OBJECTIVE INVESTIGATIONS WHERE THE RESULTS THEREOF MIGHT LEAD TO CRITICISM OF THE DRV/ PRG.

9. AMONG THE MOST FLAGRANT EXAMPLES ARE: ( A) SA HUYNH WHERE A LOCAL TEAM REPORT WHICH UNANIMOUSLY SUPPORTED THE GVN POSITION WAS STYMIED BY THE REGIONAL POLISH AND HUNGARIAN DELEGATIONS WHO ARGUED IT WAS INCOMPLETE SINCE THE PRG AND DRV HAD NOT TAKEN PART IN THE INVESTIGATION; ( B) THE SHOOTING DOWN OF A CH-47 HELICOPTER, WHERE THE US LOST ONE DEAD AND A NUMBER WOUNDED, AND WHERE YOU USED THE PRG REFUSAL TO ENSURE SECURITY AS A PRETEXT FOR DELAYING THE INVESTIGATION. WHEN THE CANADIANS AND INDONESIANS PRESSED ON AND CONCLUDED THAT THE AIRCRAFT HAD BEEN DOWNED BY VC/ NVA GROUND FIRE, THE POLES AND HUNGARIANS AGREED ONLY ON THE NAMES OF THE CREW AND THE FACT THAT IT HAD BEEN SHOT AT.; ( C) THE KHE SANH MISSILE COMPLAINT UHERE THE ICCS MANDATE WAS CLEAR BUT WHERE THE COMMUNIST REPRESENTATIVES SIMPLY REFUSED TO ACT; ( D) THE TRI TON SHELLING WHERE THE POLES AND HUNGARIANS MAINTAINED THE HIGHLY DUBIOUS POSITION THAT PROOF W  
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